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Neither paternal lineage nor sub-lineage was exogamous or endogamous. Intra-marriage was governed by rules of consanguinity. No totem objects or prestige symbols were associated with any of the paternal lineages. Certain gods were associated with the paternal groups. (See p. 308.)

The amount of lineage localization in the two villages for which information is available is compairatively large, as is to be expected from the operation of the rule of patrilocal marital residence. Of 39 male heads of households in Ngake whose residence is patrilocal, 37 men or 95 percent are members of the two Ngake paternal lineages, Muliwutu and Matanga. In Yato, 27 out of 33, or 82 percent, are members of the three Yato paternal lineages, Yamanga, Yayi, and Yalongo.

There is no mythological account of the origin of the patrilineal lineages. Informants make the simple statement that after the seismic wave that devastated the island thirteen generations ago, only 15 men and their families were left of the original population. From these men the present population has descended. Seven of the men founded anew and named patrilineal lineages from which, by a process of fissure when numbers became great, other minor sub-lineages split off. Nothing is known of the lineages previous to the seismic wave, but informants presume that there were in existence similar named patrilineal lineages.

Various instances of irregular lineage membership came to my attention.

Children of a Pukapukan woman and a non-Pukapukan husband, white or native, go to the mother's cemetery for burial; the husband also acquires membership in his wife's paternal lineage.

One Pukapukan whose wife is deceased, has remained, together with his children, in residence in the household of his father-in-law. For reasons of sentiment, he has arranged with his father-in-law for himself and his children to be buried in his late wife's cemetery, the cemetery of his father-in-law.

The child (*tama to taka*) of an unmarried mother is a member of its mother's paternal lineage, unless later adopted by the mother's husband when she marries. A child conceived out of wedlock, but born after its mother's marriage to a man not the physiological father of the child, is regarded as the child of his mother's husband and is a member of his paternal lineage; the husband becomes the sociological father of the child.

X is a *tama to taka*, adopted into the paternal lineage of his maternal grandfather's father. His grandfather does not belong to that group, having been adopted into another. X's mother belongs to the lineage into which her father was adopted. Wishing for sentimental reasons that her son and offspring go to the same cemetery as her father, she is going to substitute for her son, and be herself buried in the lineage-cemetery into which he was adopted, so that he and his line may exchange groupings with her.

Only one instance is on record of sharing children between the lineages of the father and of the mother. The siblings—father, father's sister, father's brother—in household 45 of table 5, all belong to the paternal lineage of their mother. Three siblings, now dead, all went to the father's paternal lineage. No adoption was involved in this division of the children among the two groups. It was specifically described as an idiosyncrasy on the part of both parents for which no motivations could be advanced today, as the arrangement was made about 55 years ago. It is possible that the division was influenced by southern Cook Islands practice.

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597 the feeding relationship into a permanent *kokoti* relationship. This is done by mutual arrangement with the blood parents and is accompanied by a renaming of the child by the adopting parents.

The method of adoption before birth is a favored one. The adopting parents desire to have complete control of the adopted child, not only complete social control, but complete control also of the child's affections, if they are childless. Further, if the adopting parents are two generations removed from the child, they need assurance that he will not desert them in their old age. A divided loyalty in the child would be fatal to the complete success of the security desired. Nevertheless it is recognized that adoption at a later age gives the adopting parents a chance to test out the capabilities of the adopted child.

597 An additional occasion for adoption may occur when a man marries a
848 woman who already has a child by another man. If the husband expresses the desire to adopt and it is agreed on, the woman's child is adopted into the lineage of the husband and becomes his *tama kokoti*. Where the woman has conceived either by the husband or another man before marriage, the husband is considered the sociological father to the child born after the marriage, and the problem of adoption does not arise.

597 A tabulation of the relationship of the adopting parent to *kokoti* and *mongai* children is possible from the census material (table 6). Clearly, the range of possible relationships is well nigh infinite. Note, however, the outstanding and comparative importance of father's sister, mother's brother, and mother's father as the adopting parents. Almost equal in number are adoptions by maternal and by paternal relatives.

Adoption may be complicated by the exchange of adopted children and by the giving of adopted children as presents to another lineage. One interchange of children of close friends in adoption is recorded:

> Two men, Lepuuma and Tiela, are cross cousins. Lepuuma adopted as *tama kokoti* the son of Tiela. Tiela in turn decided to adopt from Lepuuma. He contracted for Lepuuma's next infant, which he thought would be a boy, to be handed to him as soon as it was born. A fair exchange of this nature is of children of the same sex, so that the status of the two families as regards continuity of descent is the same before and after the exchange. To Tiela's sorrow, Lepuuma's child was a girl, but he stuck to his bargain and took the child.

597 The exchange is termed *yoasi* (gift), *yoasi mai* (to receive in exchange),
431 or *yoasi atu* (to give in exchange). The interchange emphasizes a sentimental tie between two families, and ensures that neither side shall suffer by the gift relationship. Where the exchange is not carried out on one side, valuable gifts—fishhooks, a piece of land, a group of nut trees, or a section of privately owned taro beds—help to reestablish the status quo as regards the two families. Such a return gift is also called *yoasi*. The practice of

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842 types of food divisions (for work activities) than by having plenty of daughters to share in the wealth of the maternal lineage.

Veti says on this matter: my ideal family would be composed of equal numbers of male and female children. I would like daughters to assist in the work of the house while they are young and unmarried. I would like them for the food shares they bring in. Even though daughters are nominally lost to the family when they marry out and go to live elsewhere, nevertheless the system is so flexible that their husbands can generally be relied on to help with food and work when the occasion demands. A son is necessary, especially a first-born son, so that the name of the family can be handed down to later generations.

As long as the daughters do not marry early, the father is assured that their food shares will be brought into the house for a reasonably long time. Whereas the adult son may get independent, go to live elsewhere, and take his food shares away from the house from an early age, a daughter would rarely be so independent. If the unmarried daughter has children, these remain with their mother's father if he so desires and insists, even though the daughter later goes elsewhere to live with the man she marries. These "illegitimate" children bring in more food shares to his household, and thus increase his wealth and status in the community.

[848] Whatever prospective parents may prefer their child to be, no method is known to influence its sex. They can only fervently hope that the child will be what they desire. They may express their hope aloud in such words as, "Fi pe te taua tama e wai tama-wawine!" (If only our child will be a girl!)

Delivery

844 The pregnant woman continues to live in the house of her husband or father, if she is unmarried, up to the time of her confinement. When she feels labor pains (*mahutinga* or *mahutahataka*) she goes outside to the back of the house, if this is a quiet place, and lies down on a mat or coconut sheet placed on the ground.

No coconut cream or other purgative is given before labor to clear the lower bowel. In delivery, the parturient woman sits on the ground with her legs stretched out and apart in front of her. Should this position become uncomfortable, she changes to a squatting position. But she soon resumes the preferred sitting position. A medicine man specializing in obstetrics (*tangata mahemanea*) or, failing him, any close male relative, sits in the same position behind her; she may also sit on his outstretched legs. The parturient woman is further assisted by another adult, usually a woman, mother or mother's sister, who squats in front of her and leans forward, pressing her hands down on the parturient woman's knees, thus giving her support in her straining movements (*fakononga*). When the baby comes (*to*, falls) it is taken either by the mother herself or else by the attendant in front of her. To help the woman in delivery, the *tangata mahemanea* applies physical therapy (*papangi te tau mahi*), pushing with the heel or the palm of the hand on the small of her back. If the baby appears to be coming out feet first, it is turned (*muamuli*) before delivery, by external digital manipulation of the abdomen.

845 Delayed childbirth or prolonged labor pains (*ya/u fakatia*) are believed to result from the woman's having copulated with another man after she became pregnant by the 783 blood father of her child. When relatives hear of the hard labor, they gather about the parturient woman and urge her to confess (*tätia*) all her sexual sins (*yau*). She is expected to confess in great detail from the first to the latest sexual irregularity. Only then can the child be delivered. An unmarried mother is also expected to confess all her sexual irregularities, giving the names of all the men with whom she has had intercourse, together with a list of all other sins she has committed. Confession is followed

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121 present itself regarding the factors bearing upon the development of personality differences.

The following material in no sense represents the fulfilment of a somewhat ambitious project. Owing to various exigencies of fieldwork[2] over which we had no control it was neither possible to study Pukapukan children with the detail they deserved, nor solve all the problems and hypotheses which we took with us into the field. Enough material was collected, however, to prove without doubt the fruitfulness of this aspect of Sapir's approach to the problems of personality. Some of this material is summarized here. If it raises more problems than it suggests answers to, this again is but tribute to Sapir's scientific acumen. After all, no new scientific approach is worth much unless it, at one and the same time, both suggests questions that should be asked and opens up wide fields of investigation. The sterile problem is the one that can most easily be answered.

II

842 The process of growing up in Pukapuka, as viewed from the vantage point of custom and
873 institution, is for the average child an uneventful and straight-forward business. Children
849 are eagerly desired by almost all parents. Male children are necessary to establish the continuity of descent and lineage. Both male and female children provide a form of old age insurance. Both, too, help to increase the flow of food into the family that results from regularly recurring village food divisions. Both sexes are also desired because the Pukapukan has real love and affection for children in themselves. The child of an unmarried mother is at no particular disadvantage. His maternal grandparents welcome the infant, giving him social status in the community. When his mother marries, as she surely will after thus establishing irrefutable proof of her child-bearing abilities, her child is almost always adopted by her husband and thus given paternal lineage status.

853 The new-born child is taken to the sea and washed, then oiled and wrapped in soft pan-
846 danus mats. For two or more days until the mother's milk comes the child is fed on coconut cream whenever it cries. For the first few days of life also the infant is cradled in the arms of female relations most of the day and night. It is given the breast whenever it cries. The mother sits while nursing, the child cuddled in her arms. Feeding is a leisurely procedure. The child is not hurried in any way but is allowed to satisfy itself fully and doze off to sleep still at the breast. When the infant is older it is held upright to nurse, its feet resting on the mother's lap. Older infants still adopt any attitude in feeding from the breast that suits them. Soft coconut flesh is introduced into the infant's diet at an early age, never however as a substitute for the leisurely and warm intimacy of breast feeding. The infant, though never left alone, whether sleeping or awake, is rarely carried about. The mother remains inactive
854 for some weeks after delivery. Thereafter when she participates more fully in gardening and
857 domestic duties she leaves her child within the house in the care of an older child or female relative. The infant is carried about only when the guardian is a young girl who cannot resist

[2] Fieldwork was carried out on the Polynesian atoll of Pukapuka, one of the northern Cook group, for seven and a half months. The culture has been described in some detail in Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, *Ethnology of Pukapuka* (Bulletin, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, No. 150, 1938).

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114 124 597 The first paragraphs annotate a somewhat typical conflict, which may be either acute or implicit, between loyalties to blood-parents and those to adopted parents, a conflict that is all the more striking here because Lua did not learn the identity of her own blood-parents until she was about five years old. Adoption occurs with great frequency in Pukapuka, either before or soon after birth. Its function in general is to obtain an heir who will continue the paternal descent-line. Informants were fond of dwelling on the heinousness of those blood-parents who seek to attract back to themselves children they have allowed to be adopted. [673] Along with stealing from village-controlled reserve food-lands *(motu)*, such disloyalty to the adopting parents may be classed as the supremely ugly Pukapukan sin.

114 776 Belief in spirits and the fear of their ghostly visitation upon the living is still very real. Dreams are caused by ghosts, sickness as well, sometimes otherwise unexplainable pregnancies. Children are also disciplined by the threat that [861] ghosts will catch them if they misbehave.

882 [532] Marriage for the Pukapukan did and does come relatively late in maturity. Its object is to secure children who will complete the continuity of the descent-line. Boys and girls formerly went naked until physiological maturity. Then they were formally tested and admitted to sociological adulthood. The girl was allowed to wear the coconut-leaf kilt, the boy his coconut-leaf or pandanus *malo*. Along with this went full participation in village activities and an adult's share in food divisions. Thereafter the young people were given considerable personal freedom. Such freedom was accepted and enjoyed to the full. The infrequent children [848] born out of wedlock were accepted with thanks by the mother's family because they meant extra food in village [836] food-divisions. Chastity before marriage was and is a meaningless concept to the Pukapukan. When the young people tire of a life of freedom, or when one forms a romantic attraction for another of the opposite sex, then a permanent [585] alliance is announced by the establishment of a patrilocal domicile, socially validated by the holding of a food-division and the exchange of gifts between the families of the bride and groom.